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Wednesday, 1 October 1947

INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL
FOR THE FAR EAST
Court House of the Tribunal
War Ministry Building
Tokyo, Japan

The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment, at 0930.

Appearances:

For the Tribunal, all Members sitting, with the exception of: HONORABLE JUSTICE HENRI BERNARD, Member from the Republic of France, not sitting from 1500 to 1600.

> For the Prosecution Section, same as before. For the Defense Section, same as before.

(English to Japanese and Japanese to English interpretation was made by the Language Section, ILTFE.)

Reichers & Yelden

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session.

THE PRESIDENT: The accused TOGO will be absent for the first half of the morning session, and the accused KAYA will be absent for the whole of the morning session, from the courtroom, conferring with their counsel.

MR. Yamaoka.

KENSUKE HORINOUCHI, called as a witness on behalf of the defense, resumed the stand and testified through Japanese interpreters as follows:

MR. YAMAOKA: May it please the Tribunal, just before the close of the day yesterday the Tribunal made a ruling on hearsay. I find that for my purposes it will not be necessary to press these questions, that is, the conversations between this witness and the accused HIROTA, at this time.

THE PRESIDENT: It may never be necessary to decide that point. We will wait until it is necessary.

Min. YAMAOKA: I should be satisfied, if the Tribunal please, if this witness, however, is permitted to testify to the actual conversations that he attended and also to the conversations that he held with

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Mr. Craigie, Sir Robert Craigie.

THE PRESIDENT: So far as his conversations are relevant and material, so far as what he heard HIROTA say to the ambassador is relevant and material, we will receive it. We understand there are no objections to his saying what the ambassador said to HIROTA and HIROTA to the ambassador. We want the actual conversation if we can get it, not merely his version of it, the interpretation of it.

Mr. Chief of Counsel:

MR. KEINAN: Mr. President, yesterday's record discloses a matter of extreme importance which we believe requires immediate and decisive action on the part of this Court. I refer to that part of the record at pages 29,601, 29,602, 29,604. The following are the parts, and I quote:

"MR. YAMAOKA: I also wish to state, if the Tribunal please, that the mere omission of certain parts of these documents does not mean that we do not intend to rely on them.

"THE PRESIDENT: (Record page 29,602) More than one Member of this Tribunal has raised the question why you should not read all that you rely upon in these documents. If you don't think a part is worth reading, it is possible that those Members will not read

any more than appears in the transcript" Mr. President, I emphasize the following words --"or consider any more than that.

"MR. YAMAOKA: I had hoped, if the Tribunal please, to avoid reading certain parts of these documents which had previously been covered by similar statements on other occasions by the accused HIROTA, o in the desire not to burden the Tribunal any more than necessary with details.

"THE PRESIDENT: Read what you propose to read, 12 Mr. Yamaoka."

(Page 29,604): "THE PRESIDENT: This morning I stated the attitude of some Members. Whether they are a majority I do not know."

It is respectfully suggested that the foregoing discloses that there exists not alone doubt, but a considerable doubt as to what procedure must be followed to determine whether a document may become evidence in the case, or perhaps evidence that all Members of the Court will consider.

We from the United States are accustomed to what I believe is the universal rule that when a document is admitted in evidence in any tribunal it is completely admitted, and is as much a part of the

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record as though every word were repeated in the transcript. Such documents are frequently referred to and quoted from in summation, usually in briefs, but sometimes in oral summation. There is more than a slight inference that some Members of this Court would not even consider a part of a document unless it appeared repeated in the transcript, word for word. There is more than a suggestion that some Members of this Court would not even consider the document in evidence unless it were read into the record. This situation is made more alarming by the candid disclosure of the Honorable President that he himself does not know whether those taking this view constitute a majority of this Court.

It need not be pointed out, I am sure, that there is nothing more important than a determination of what is or what is not before the Court for consideration, especially at the time of judgment when men's lives and liberty are at stake in this proceeding.

With great respect we submit and uphold these propositions:

- (1) A document cannot be both in evidence and out at the same time.
- (2) If a document is in evidence, both the prosecution and the defense have every right to assume

that it will be considered by every single Member of this Tribunal and given whatever weight it deserves in each Judge's opinion. That is to say, more specifically, every member of the prosecution and defense, and, of course, the accused themselves, have a right to assume that if a document is admitted by this Court no Member of the Tribunal will have a right, in conscience, or will be expected to disregard any part of it for the simple reason that it is not fully spread on the typewritten transcript.

With great respect we suggest that there is some vital misunderstanding upon this point. Because it is so important, it goes to the heart of the trial. The record at present would indicate either that the Court has no ruling on this point, or it has a ruling which is not clearly that of the majority, or that it has a ruling binding upon some Members of this Tribunal and not upon others.

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For the aforementioned reasons we ask respectfully, specifically, that this Court inform in open court the prosecution and the defense at the beginning of this, the 17th month of this trial, whether a document which the Court has ruled, record, page 29,601, "Admitted on the usual terms," and which the clerk of the court states in the record, page 29,601, "Defense document 2162 will receive exhibit No. 3248," and the record further showing, "(Whereupon, the document above referred to was marked defense exhibit 3248 and received in evidence)," whether that document is in evidence and whether such is the ruling of the majority of the Court and binding upon every Member of the Tribunal.

A very few words more: I would respectfully inform the Court that every lawyer from the United States would take for granted that what is received in evidence is completely in evidence. In our own courts we are discouraged from reading matters at length in the record. Sometimes reference is made to encumbering the record unless it is fairly essential to so do.

On the 30th of July, 1946, the Court through its President made a ruling precisely covering this matter, it was thought. I quote from page 2736:

29,723 HORINOUCHI

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"It is the Court's duty to consider every part of a document which is tendered (received) in evidence; that is, so far as it is tendered (received) in evidence, whether the contents of the document are read in court or not."

It may not be necessary to point out that undoubtedly all counsel would be willing to read any entire matter into the transcript and some of my friends on the other side of the table might even be willing to read the same matter several times for good measure so that it will be clearly understood.

Learned counsel for the United Kingdom has just informed me that his jurisdiction holds the same rule as that I have stated prevails in the United States so we do not apparently have, if he is correct, that jurisdictional difference.

I need not, I am sure, point out that I am addressing myself to what is in evidence and to be considered and not to instances where a part of an instrument is admitted and a part rejected; nor do I need to emphasize, as a last word, Mr. President, the keen desire of every Member of the prosecution and. I am quite sure, shared by defense counsel to do all that we can to facilitate the examination of the record, the weighing of the record, and the explanation of our

theories and the like for the facility of this Court which is burdened with such a great, grave problem.

THE PRESIDENT: The United States practice is also the Australian practice. The decision of July last year was based on the United States practice and on the Australian practice. The decision was repeated again only a week ago by me on an objection by Mr. Brown of the British prosecution. Since I repeated that decision on Mr. Brown's objection, at least two Members, I think, if not three Members of the Tribunal, have made suggestions that they are going to be bound or to consider only what is read into the transcript and I told the counsel on both sides of that as soon as the opportunity arose. From two of the Members I have received written notes to that effect. One I received only this morning as you were addressing me, Mr. Chief of Counsel.

I have no intention of telling you what any
Member has written or said to me without his consent
but I may read what one Member has just written: "The
parts of documents not read by the attorney presenting
them should not be considered in evidence."

I read what another Member has written to me this morning: "If, when a document is admitted, the whole of the document forms part of the evidence, why

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have prosecution and defense been reading any part
of the documents at the stage of presentation of the
evidence? They have wasted months of time in reading evidence into the record which upon this theory
was already evidence the moment the documents were
admitted."

I am not giving a ruling but, as President of this Court, I am entitled to reply to the Chief of Counsel. I insist upon the right.

The Member who wrote the last note that I have read points out that the documents are all subject to translation and that it must be understood they are admitted only so far as the translation extends. That is not contested, if I understand rightly.

I have been satisfied just to state the facts. I have given no ruling nor had I any intention of giving one; but the two rulings that I did give, which were in accordance with American and British and Australian practice, were not contested by any Member of this Tribunal when they were given, and the rulings were exactly to the same effect.

MR. KEENAN: Mr. President, of course,
matters that are not translated into the Japanese
language and English language could not be received

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in evidence in conformity with the provisions of the Charter, which are binding upon all of us, I take it. I am sure that the counsel for the accused will agree with me that we are all in complete accord that nothing has been considered as part of the record in this case or in evidence unless it has been translated into both languages.

Mr. President, we could give, I think, very sound reasons why the practice has long prevailed in the United States and, as I am informed, in Great Britain.

Among other reasons, very briefly, would be that some parts of the record might not seem to be of importance at the moment to be brought into the record; and another reason, Mr. President, would be that a document of considerable length might contain statistics of other matter that would have to be weighed, that ought to be subject to examination of counsel for both sides but need not be spread upon the record—on the transcript.

Mr. President, I with great respect suggest to this Court that it is a late date to change any ruling made clearly and unequivocally by the President of this Court, whom we all assumed spoke for all the Members of the Court and in their hearing without

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objection in open court.

That ruling, Mr. President, was clear, explicit, and in no need of request for clarification at the time. I raised the point this morning only because of the confusion, the state of confusion, that exists in the record of uncertainty and ambiguity on a vital part of this trial.

Mr. President, Chief of Counsel's powers are strictly limited in the Charter. I can do no more than respectfully request this Court for a clear ruling on this essential point. We are going pretty high, Mr. President. There is no one really above this Tribunal for the moment but the Supreme Being of all.

entitled to a ruling from this Court on this state of the record. I can only perform my full duty as Chief of Counsel, and with great respect leave the matter to the wise discretion and judgment of this Court without, of course, reminding it of the grave consequences that hang in the balance awaiting the action of the Tribunal.

THE PRESIDENT: A Member of the Tribunal inquires why, if it was intended that we should read the whole document, such large excerpts from the documents have been read by both parties.

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MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, at the request of learned Chief of Counsel, I would just like to say this in answer to -- or, rather, I respectfully submit that he has already answered that question. But to point out the matter which is of immediate practical importance to us -- and by "us" I think we are speaking for counsel on both sides -- and that is whether, in our summations, we shall be permitted to refer to parts of documents which, in accordance with the previous rulings of the Tribunal, we have assumed to be in evidence and, therefore, available to be used in summation.

We cannot presume to endeavor to dictate to any individual Member of this Tribunal what he shall read for himself or what he shall not read for himself. But we submit we are entitled to guidance as to what we shall be allowed to read or introduce into our summations; and on that, we submit, it is urgent that we should have an immediate ruling of the Court, even if it has to be by majority only, because if we are not to be allowed to do so it will be necessary for us to make opportunities of reading into the evidence now the passages in question.

> That is all I desire to say. THE PRESIDENT: I understand that the learned

Chief of Counsel and the learned British prosecutor have also represented the views of the defense.

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Yamaoka.

MR. YAMACKA: While I and a great number of defense counsel do agree with and support the views expressed by the learned Chief of Counsel and the learned prosecutor from the United Kingdom, I understand that there are some defense counsel who do not concur in those views.

THE PRESIDENT: If so, we should hear them, or a representative of them.

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, I believe that the majority of defense counsel are in agreement with the propositions presented to the Tribunal.

THE PRESIDENT: We must hear the minority, if it is a minority.

MR. YAMACKA: But I do respectfully suggest that if there are those who do not agree that they be given the opportunity of presenting their views before the Tribunal. And I might state, if the Tribunal please, that in so far as I am concerned, I fully concur in and support the views of the learned Chief of Counsel and make a similar request.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Cunningham.

MR. CUNNINGHAM: If the Tribunal please, I anticipated that this problem would come up sooner or later and that it would have to be clarified the same as happened at Nuernberg. It never was clarified clearly at Nuernberg whether or not the actual part which was read into the record became the evidence in the case.

I disagree with Mr. Carr on this premise, that a majority decision on this matter would not serve the purpose at all. It must be a unanimous decision of the policy of this Tribunal as to what is or what is not to be considered the evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: The Charter has something to say about majority decisions.

MR. CUNNINGHAM: This cannot be considered, as I read the Charter, under any interpretation to be a decision. This is a matter of policy which must guide all counsel, all lawyers, all Judges, in considering what is evidence before the Tribunal, and it is not a matter of decision as to the admissibility of evidence or the allowing of a motion.

THE PRESIDENT: We decide what evidence we admit.

MR. CUNNINGHAM: That is right.

THE PRESIDENT: And the decision rests with

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the majority.

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MR. CUNNINGHAM: There is no question about that. But after you have admitted it, what the Court considers has been admitted is the question here.

Now, the third observation is, your Honor, there have been a great many documents admitted in this Tribunal that have not been read. They have been referred to and they have been considered or not considered evidence by some Members of the Tribunal. It is very difficult to determine from down here what, up there, is considered evidence.

In my case, I have read many of the vital parts of documents and have left the minor or detailed parts for the perusal of the Tribunal at its leisure, or for reference in summation, or to use in any manner in which I see fit, after it has been admitted.

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MR. CUNNINGHAM: I was coming to my conclusions. I am only on my observations.

And on the fourth proposition: there have been two Members of the Tribunal I have noticed consistently who have withheld the documents which have been rejected. Now, to what extent they consider thos documents in evidence has become a question with me the same as this question has become, and it is an observation which I think is important as to whether or not those two Members of the Tribunal consider the rejected documents even as evidence in this case.

THE PRESIDENT: You are more vigilant than I if you noticed that.

MR. CUNNINGHAM: Things are sometimes more apparent from where I sit than where you sit, your Honor.

Now, my final observation is this --it is a question of vital importance that we should know. Personally, I am of the opinion that the mechanical, physical impossibilities go to the conclusion of the two Judges; that it is an impossibility to read all the documents which have been introduced in this case, even in leisure or spare time. At the beginning there was no imagination that would lead to the conclusion that this trial would last so long, and this, perhaps, is

Members of the Tribunal. So I am afraid that in practice the majority of the Tribunal will probably find it necessary to follow the judgment of the minority of the Court, and therefore the rule probably should be a compromise between that of the minority and that of the majority in order that we shall know definitely just exactly where we stand. Therefore, I suggest that as far as I am concerned I agree neither with the prosecution nor with a majority of the defense nor with a majority of the Tribunal; nor with a minority of the Tribunal; but I think there is a middle road there some place that we are going to have to hit with an understanding.

THE PRESIDENT: I feel in duty bound to say that I know of no contention or conclusion on the part of two Members of the Tribunal such as Mr. Cunningham referred to. If they are doing what he says they have never revealed it to me.

I'r. Logan.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, I don't know whether I represent the majority or the minority control the defendants in what I have to say, but what I do say now I want to say on my own personal responsibility and initiative.

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The statement by the learned Chief Prosecutor a. to what is the law in America is so accurate and exiometic that it seems to me it needs no further discussion. As an attorney representing one of these accused I feel that it is my duty to know and to be able to advise him what is in evidence and what is not in evidence. If I do not know that I am failing in my duty as a lawyer. When a decision was made last year that documents which were received in evidence would be considered by the Tribunal as evidence even though they were not read into the transcript, I felt assured at that time that even if there was only a majority opinion of the Tribunal that the Tribunal as a whole would be bound by that majority opinion, just the same as any judgment, conviction, and sentence at the conclusion of the trial will be the judgment of the entire Court even though it is by a majority. It would seem to me, with all due respect to the Tribunal, that a simple proposition as to what is in evidence or what is not in evidence should be clarified immediately.

THE PRESIDENT: It was clarified in July 1946. It was clarified within the last fortnight. There is nothing to clarify. The only question is whether we are going to overrule what we have twice decided. If we admit the whole of a document into

evidence and part only is read, the whole of it is still in evidence. I take no interest in this except to receive, if one comes, the decision of the majority to reverse what they have done already twice.

MR. LOGAN: If the Tribunal please, I thought it was clarified last July, too, until this recent discussion. The problem is warrying me whether or not two or maybe more of the Judges are going to consider those documents which were not read into the transcript. If they are not going to consider them they should be read.

THE PRESIDENT: We must preserve orderly procedure. The decision given in July last year and repeated in the last fortnight is as clear as day. No question arises about it. Nobody has moved that the decision be reversed. I think the learned Chief of Counsel was under the impression that since that decision was given in July last year and throughout the period that evidence has been given since there has been some doubt. There was no doubt until the last day or two that I was aware of. There was no doubt when I repeated the decision on Mr. Brown's objection within a fortnight, perhaps a week ago, no doubt revealed to me.

MR. LOGAN: Or to us either, your Honor.

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We were under the impression that it was binding on the entire Tribunal when it was made last July. Now the question we would like to know is, is that majority decision binding on those two other Judges or is it not, because if it is not that evidence should be read.

THE PRESIDENT: We would like to hear the other viewpoint.

We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1045, a recess was taken until 1115, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

29,737

HORINOUCHI

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: -- review the decision of the Tribunal given in July 1946 and repeated recently. If the whole of a document has been tendered in evidence, but only part has been read, it will be open to any counsel on summation to refer to unread parts, if necessary or desirable in his viewpoint.

OFFICIAL COURT REPORTER: Mr. President, the first few words of your statement didn't come over the IBM.

to review the decision of the Tribunal given in July 1946 and repeated recently. If the whole of a document has been tendered and received in evidence, but only part has been read, the unread part may be referred to in summation, if necessary or desirable in the view of the particular counsel.

MR. LOGAN: Well, if the Tribunal please, I think that still leaves the question unanswered. I understood fully the Tribunal's decision as a whole, but how about those two Judges; are they still going to exclude evidence which is not read into the transcript? I think that is important for all of us to know.

THE PRESIDENT: The two Judges referred to are

not keeping those copies for the purposes of using
them in this trial. I mean copies of rejected documents.

All eleven Judges adhere to the decision of July 1946, repeated recently. I cannot make it plainer. I won't attempt to.

MR. LOGAN: In my statement before the recess,
I was not referring to nor did I use the words "rejected
documents." Mr. Cunningham, I believe, referred to the
rejected documents. I was not talking about them. I
was talking about documents which are in evidence, parts
or maybe the whole of which has not been read into the
transcript. That is the only thing to which my remarks
were addressed.

THE PRESIDENT: Captain Brooks.

MR. BROOKS: Mr. President, I think if that remark is carried further and is not referred to in summation, the unread part and the unreferred part of material in evidence, that the Court -- Are these Judges to consider that part where it is neither referred to or read, but is still in evidence?

THE PRESIDENT: Every one of the eleven Judges is satisfied that he is at liberty to consider and he will consider, if necessary, the whole of any document which is wholly admitted into evidence. There couldn't be

any clearer statement. He will not consider himself limited to the part read into the transcript.

MR. BROOKS: I thought, before the recess, that the Court wanted to hear some of the other views on that subject before it ruled and I thought that Mr. Logan was going to speak and I did want to be heard on that point, because I do not believe the general rule should be followed.

THE PRESIDENT: You have no right to be heard except by the grace of the Tribunal, because we have given our decision twice. We have considered it the third time and we have adhered to it and that is the end of the matter. To hear further argument would be to suggest that we are prepared to consider it a fourth time, and we are not.

MR. BROOKS: I understand, your Honor. I thought I had been invited prior to the recess to make those remarks. I do have some submissions on that point which would have to come by the grace of the Court. I thought possibly the Court had misunderstood that we had not been fully heard on both sides.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. YAMAOKA.

MR. YAMAOKA: If it please the Tribunal, I will propound further questions to this witness along the lines I indicated earlier this morning.

DIRECT EXAMINATION

BY MR. YAMAOKA (Continued):

Q Mr. HORINOUCHI, yesterday you stated that you were present at some of the conversations between Ambassador Craigie and Foreign Minister HIROTA prior to October 27, 1937.

A Yes, I so said.

Q Will you please state what was said at these conversations?

A Ambassador Craigie proposed that he would like to do anything within his power to assist in recovering peace between Japan and China. To that, Foreign Minister HIROTA stated that it was his desire to have the assistance of Great Britain, which he felt was held in confidence and trust by China.

However, at first, Foreign Minister HIROTA expressed the desire that, inasmuch as he hesitated to present terms of settlement as a representative of the Japanese Government, he would like, if possible, to have the matter broached through -- that he would like to have the terms proposed through trustworthy --

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proposed as of coming from very reliable, trustworthy channels or quarters. To this, Ambassador Craigie said that that would not do, and they would like to convey the proposal as coming from the Japanese Foreign Minister.

Thereupon, Foreign Minister HIROTA said that his name may be quoted, but only as coming from the Foreign Minister as his individual views. To this, Ambassador Craigie consented.

Such a procedure is customarily used in diplomatic negotiations. At first, informal talks are held, and gradually these talks develop into more formal conversations. Such steps were taken in this instance.

At that time, Foreign Minister HIROTA expressed his personal views in, if I recall correctly, four or five points.

One of them was a proposal to have the troops of Japan -- to have a demilitarized zone created in North China and that the Japanese and Chinese troops withdraw from that particular zone.

Another point mentioned by the Foreign Minister was a desire to adjust the relations on a practical basis between Manchukuo and North China.

A third point was a desire to have China

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control the anti-Japanese movement then going on in that country.

He also expressed the desire to have recognizad the principle of equal economic opportunities in the region of North China.

These views of Foreign Minister HIROTA were conveyed by Ambassador Craigie to the Chinese Government, and the desires thereon of the Chinese Government were conveyed on two or three occasions to the Foreign Minister by Ambassador Craigie.

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Q Will you please state the circumstances and reasons regarding the resignation of Foreign Minister HIROTA in May, 1938, if you know?

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Carr.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, in our submission this is going altogether beyond the length of supplementary questions usually allowed. There was nothing to prevent either of these matters being dealt with in the affidavit, if the witness can deal with them.

THE PRESIDENT: There is no reason why this should not have been included in his affidavit. The direction regarding the use of affidavits will become a dead letter if we allow extensive examination in addition.

MR. YAMAOKA: Well, if the Tribunal pleases, I think that I have only put to this witness probably four questions.

THE PRESIDENT: That is a matter for the Tribunal's discretion, but we have to keep in view that we require affidavits. We have not given any decision that you were not aware of that forces you to take this course.

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, that is my last question. I do not intend to ask any further

ones.

THE PRESIDENT: Unless you can give a good reason for not having this in the affidavit, we are not going to allow it, Mr. Yamaoka. That is the majority's decision.

MR. YAMAOKA: The affidavit, if your Honors please, merely states that Mr. HIROTA resigned in May, 1938. It does not amplify that statement any more than that, as I recall it. My co-counsel suggested that this matter be amplified and that is the reason why I am doing so. I requested the permission of the Tribunal yesterday about it.

THE PRESIDENT: What do you want to amplify?
You want him to give his reason for his resignation?
MR. YAMAOKA: Yes, if your Honor please.

THE PRESIDENT: I am afraid my colleagues, or a majority of them, are adament. They won't allow the question.

MR. YAMAOKA: Well, then, that closes the examination in chief of this witness. The witness is available for cross-examination.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Carr.

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CROSS-EXAMINATION

BY MR. COMYNS CARR:

Q Mr. Horinouchi, you tell us in paragraph 4, the second sub-paragraph, about what happened at a cabinet meeting on the 9th of July, 1937. Were you present?

- A No, I was not.
- Q From whom did you get the information?
- A I heard it from the Foreign Minister.
- o That is, HIROTA?
- A Yes.
- Q Now, you refer in it to seeking a prompt local settlement of the matter?
 - A Yes, I do.
- note information, that the local settlement was to be on the three terms which you set out in paragraph 5 and which were agreed on the 11th of July?
 - A "hat do you mean by the three principles?
 - o Haven't you got your affidavit?
 - A . don't have it with me.

 MR. COMYNS CARR: May he have a Japanese copy?
 - Q You read English also, don't you?
 - A Yes, I do read English.

 THE PRESIDENT: Give him the original.

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In paragraph 5 you set out three terms which you say were agreed between General HASHIMOTO and the Chinese 29th Army on the 11th of July. I am asking you whether those were the terms on which the cabinet on the 9th of July, according to your information, decided that the local settlement should be made.

A These terms were decided on the spot. In my recollection these terms were not discussed by the cabinet on July 9.

Q Then, are you telling us that the cabinet on the 9th of July left it to the local commander to enforce any terms he thought fit?

A No, that is not so.

Then, what are you saying?

Two major principles were decided upon by the cabinet at this meeting of July 9. The first of these two major principles was that every effort be made to all possible extent to seek a peaceful settlement of the affair, and the second point of the two principles is that the settlement shall be made locally.

Q ves, but what I am asking you is this: Did
the cabinet, according to what you were told, on the
9th of July decide what were the terms to be demanded,
or did they leave that to the local commander?

A The policy decided upon by the cabinet at that meeting was to see to it that the incident be settled promptly on the spot, and that the military authorities on the spot were to negotiate with the Chinese side with this policy in mind, and that negotiations as to concrete terms were to be conducted on the spot.

Now would you mind answering the question?
Were the terms left to the discretion of the local
commander?

A Inasmuch as the cabinet was not informed of the full details of the situation as of July 9, the decision made by the cabinet was only with reference to general policy in the handling of the situation, that the army authorities on the spot were instructed to effect a speedy -- were to effect a speedy settlement with the Chinese on the spot in accordance with the situation prevailing there.

Then, the answer to my question was yes, it was left to the local commander to decide the terms?

A That is not so; I didn't say anything of the kind. Negotiations were to be conducted on the spot, but the final decisions thereto were to be made by the Japanese government.

According to you, then, in the view of the cabi-

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net and of HIROTA, any terms which the local commander might secure from the local Chinese commander would not be effective unless they were approved by both the Chinese and Japanese governments, is that right?

A yes, with regard to agreements between governments.

n What do you mean by that qualification?

Either the terms negotiated by the army were to be

final or they were to be subject to the approval of the governments. Which do you mean?

A Yes, the terms are effective in so far as they concerned the armies of both sides on the spot.

Q Well, now, was it also left to the discretion of the local commander what means he should adopt to compel the Chinese army on the spot to accept his terms?

A As I have said before, the general policy was to effect a prompt local settlement in accordance with the peaceful policy of non-expansion and non-aggravation of the Incident. The military commander on the spot was permitted to conduct negotiation of terms of settlement in so far as they accorded with this general principle or policy.

THE MONITOR: "In so far as he ..."

O Do you think that is an answer to the question?

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A	I	think	so.

O Try again; I will repeat it.

Was it also left to the discretion of the local commander what means he should adopt to compel the Chinese local army to accept his terms?

A He was instructed, or ordered to carry on negotiations.

in paragraph 5, it was obvious to you and HIROTA, was it not, that nobody would have accepted them except under threat of force?

A No, that was not the case.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Carr, I think this is a convenient time to adjourn. We will adjourn until half-past one.

(Whereupon, at 1200, an adjournment was taken.). :..

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AFTERNOON SESSION

The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess, at 1330.

THE PRESIDENT: With the Tribunal's permission, the accused KAYA will be absent from the courtroom for the whole of the afternoon session conferring with his counsel.

Mr. Comyns Carr.

KENSUKE HORINOUCHI, called as a witness on behalf of the defense, resumed the stand and testified through Japanese interpreters as follows:

BY MR. COMYNS CARR (Continued):

Q Mr. HORINOUCHI, you, the Foreign Office, had representatives of your own in various parts of China, hadn't you?

A Yes, that is so.

Q Did you instruct them to find out what were the real facts as to the original outbreak of the incident?

A I do not recall whether any particular or special instruction was sent out.

Did you or, rather I should say, did Mr. HIROTA tell them to find out what was the Chinese version of that matter?

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A I do not recall whether any special instruction to that effect was sent out to our representatives
in the field, but our representatives in the field,
in the line of duty, as a matter of course, reported
everything to the Foreign Office, anything which they
themselves heard or learned about.

Q Did you discover that the Chinese denied the Japanese Army's version of the matter?

A Yes, we confirmed some. The Chinese confirmed some parts of the Japanese version and denied others.

Q Did you make any independent investigation to find out which was true?

A The Foreign Office considered and studied information received from all available and possible sources as well as the views of the Chinese authorities themselves.

Q And did HIROTA accept the Japanese Army's story?

A No, he did not take it all in.

Q Look at the second of the terms mentioned in paragraph 5. Whatever the truth was, the trouble had arisen because the Japanese forces chose to hold their maneuvers right up against the position where the Chinese forces were entitled to be stationed,

didn't it?

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A I do not think so.

Q Why was it the Chinese had to withdraw from a place where they were entitled to be in order not to cause untoward incidents?

A It was my understanding that both the Japanese and Chinese sides negotiated in order to satisfy their mutual interests to avoid any further trouble from developing between the two parties.

It was my understanding that, in order to avoid any further trouble, such matters -- it was discussed between the two parties in order to satisfy their mutual and respective interests in order to arrange so that the troops on both sides would be kept apart.

Q Now, I come to the Cabinet meeting of the 11th of July in paragraph 6 of your affidavit. You say, at the top of page 3 in the English version, that "the following results were reported afterwards." Who reported them?

- A I heard this from the Foreign Minister.
- o Why didn't you say so in your affidavit?
- A I thought this would be sufficiently clear.
- Q Wasn't this the actual result of that Cabinet meeting, that the Cabinet made an important determina-

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tion and decided to take necessary steps in connection with the despatching of troops to North China? The contents are set forth in my affidavit and it is -- the situation was as it is written there. Would you mind answering my question: Did 5. not what I put to you correctly represent the result? 7

That is not so. It is as I have set forth in my affidavit, that in case of any eventuality or exigency preparations need to be considered in consideration of such eventualities.

- Q Did the Foreign Ministry --THE HONITOR: Preparations for mobilization.
- (Continuing) Did the Foreign Ministry accordingly take a hasty measure for strengthening the staffs of the diplomatic offices in North China?
 - That I do not recall.

Do you know that what I have been reading to you is from the Office Report for 1937 published by the Secretariat of the Foreign Ministry on December 1 in that year?

I do not know. MR. COMYNS CARR: That is exhibit 260, record page 3486.

Now, is it a fact that the War Minister insisted upon sending immediate reinforcements to the

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1 five thousand men in Tientsin? I have not heard of that. And that the whole Cabinet consented to 4 his proposal, including HIROTA? I have not heard of that. Did the "ar Minister say after the Cabinet 7 that he would send a large force to smash the opposition and settle the issue in a short time? To whom? To the Emperor. Q Not being close to the Emperor, I do not 11 12 know. Now, immediately after that Cabinet meeting, 13 namely on the morning of the 12th, did the message 15 come in stating that the Chinese had agreed to the 16 terms you've mentioned in paragraph 5? 17 That I do recall. 18 And did the message say, "It is a very sin-19 cere answer"? 20 I do not recall such adjectives in the mes-21 sage. 22 Did the Army General Staff express the view that this was a Chinese ruse to make the Japanese 24 stop their military preparations?

I do not recall.

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Q And were the reinforcements sent both from the Kwantung Army and the Chosen Army in spite of the Chinese having accepted those terms?

A They accepted but did not carry it into execution yet.

Q But you know you have said in the last sentence but one of paragraph 5 of your affidavit, "These terms seemed to be carried by the Chinese into execution somehow or other before July 22." You now want to say that is untrue?

A I do not know how my words in the affidavit
have been translated in the English, but in Japanese
I said that it seems as though that the terms would
be carried out. I did not say that they were carried out.

Q You read English, you told us, as well as Japanese, don't you?

A I should like to have the English shown to me again.

Q Haven't you read the English translation of your affidavit before you came into court?

A I read it through once; but, in as much as now the purport of my statement is as set forth in the Japanese text and I cannot reply with any confidence without seeing the English translations, I should

like to be shown the English text.

MR. COMYNS CARR: May he be shown the English text, please?

(Whereupon, a document was handed to the witness.)

IR. COMYNS CARR: Page 2, the third sentence from the bottom, beginning "These terms seemed to be carried by the Chinese" --

THE PRESIDENT: Third paragraph from the bottom.

THE WITNESS: The English may convey such a meaning, but what I really wish to say has been set forth with clarity in the Japanese text.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I will ask that Major Moore should report upon that point.

THE WITNESS: I would like to speak some more. I should like to point out that even in the English text of my affidavit the words are "seemed to be" and not "to have been."

Q Did you take the view which I put to you as that of the General Staff, that the agreement by the Chinese was merely a ruse to stop the Japanese military preparations?

A I have never thought of it that way.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Carr, that distinction

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he drew is no distinction at all if you read the whole of that little paragraph. "Seemed to be carried out" means "seemed to have been carried out" because he speaks of the period before July 22.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Yes, your Honor.

Now, may I have an answer to my original question: Were the contingents from the Kwantung Army and the Chosen Army, to which you refer in paragraph 6 of your affidavit, in fact sent into North China immediately after the 11th of July?

A The Foreign Office at that time was not familiar with the details of military movements or operations.

Q If you were really trying to check military expansion, was it not essential for you to find out what they were doing?

A Every effort was made to inform ourselves; but as to when, at what time, what type of military actions or operations were to take place, such matters belonged to the category of strict military secrets and were known only to those who were vitally concerned with such action or who were directly concerned with such action.

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Q But you have told us in paragraph 6 that the cabinet decided on the 11th of July that those reinforcements were to be sent. When the news came that the Chinese had accepted the Japanese Army's terms, did Mr. HIROTA take no steps to find out whether that reinforcement had been canceled or was continuing?

A As I have said before, the Chinese military authorities accepted the terms but we had at that time received no reports that they had carried out those terms.

Q Now try to answer the question.

A I do not know whether or not the Foreign Minister took any steps to find out what measures had been taken or were being taken.

Q But you know, Mr. HORINOUCHI, you have professed, have you not, throughout this affidavit to be able to tell us everything that the Foreign Minister said and did--

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, I object to the characterization of this witness' testimony by my learned friend. The affidavit states exactly the source of his information and the extent of it.

MR. COMYNS CARR: It does not state the source.

MR. YAMAOKA: I further respectfully submit

that this is arguing with the witness.

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THE PRESIDENT: He can deny it if he wishes. He said something very like it in an affidavit which has been rejected; however, we are not to take it into consideration.

- Q Can you or can you not say whether Mr. HIROTA took any steps to find out whether these reinforcements had, in fact, been sent?
 - A I have no recollection.
- Q Do you not know very well yourself that they were, in fact, sent?
 - A Yes, I heard of it later.

THE PRESIDENT: I think paragraph 21 justifies Mr. Comyns Carr's description of this affidavit.
That has been admitted in evidence and it reads:
"Foreign Minister HIROTA always gave careful consideration to safeguarding the interests of the third powers in China."

Q Now coming to paragraph 8, you say in the second sentence: "Meanwhile, we successively received authoritative reports that the Nanking Government, in spite of our representations made at Nanking as well as at Tokyo, were despatching reinforcements, troop after troop, to North China." From whom did you get those reports?

A Reports from the army as well as from Foreign

Office authorities.

Q Those troops were being moved by the Chinese Government in Chinese territory, were they not?

A That is so.

Q What right had you to object?

A Not object but negotiate.

Q Was the position which you took up that the Japanese Army could send what reinforcements it liked into Chinese territory but the Chinese Army must not move reinforcements within their own territory?

A No, not so.

Q But that is what it amounted to, wasn't it?

A Such negotiations were carried out mutually between the two parties in an effort to avoid opportunities for clashes between the opposing forces.

Q You mean that there would be no clashes if the Japanese troops went there and the Chinese troops did not, don't you?

A No, that is not what I mean.

Q At the end of that paragraph you say: "The Foreign Office, thereupon, ordered Councillor HIDAKA by wire on July 16 to call upon the Nanking Government not to interfere with the execution of the three terms, and to check the northward movement of the Chinese Central Armies." What right had you to do that?

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A It is natural that by such negotiations a peace settlement could be effected.

Q This morning you told me that it was not left to the discretion of the location commanders to settle what terms they pleased but that the two governments would have to confirm them. Why then did HIROTA call upon the Nanking Government not to interfere with them?

A There were prospects that the matter could be settled by a local settlement of the incident and although the -- because we entertained the idea that there were prospects of reaching a settlement locally and we desired from our part that the Nanking Government would approve of this idea of a local settlement and would assist in the execution of the terms reached.

- Now I will come to paragraph 11. There you refer to a draft of terms which you say was approved on August 5 or 6 by HIROTA, SUGIYAMA, Minister of the Navy and the Premier. Where is it?
 - A I recall the draft which existed at that time.
 - Q Where is it now?
 - A That I do not know.
 - Q Have you taken any steps to find out?
 - A I did try but because many of the files of

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the Foreign Office have been burnt I was unable to locate it.

Q But you know this is not one of the documents which either you or Mr. HAYASHI have sworn was burnt. If you found cut it was burnt why did you not include it in your affidavit as having been burnt?

A I thought there was no objection to testifyin: from memory.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Yamaoka.

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, that document is on our order of proof and is numbered 2066. It has not yet been submitted but is on the order of proof.

THE PRESIDENT: It was not burnt as the witness suggested?

MR. YAMAOKA. No.

MR. COMYNS CARR: I will pass on while it is being found. Oh, here it is.

The document which has been handed to me, No. 2066, is nothing of the kind. It is a telegram.

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Where is the document which you say was Q approved on the 5th or 6th of August by these four ministers?

I have already replied to that question.

In paragraph 12 you refer at the end to the Shanghai Incident on August 9th. What line did Mr. HIROTA take, according to you, about the Shanghai Incident?

He did his best to have the Incident settled locally.

And for the purpose of getting it settled locally did he express approval to increasing the number of Japanese Marines in Shanghai, and of the sending of additional Japanese ships of war there?

Foreign Minister HIROTA did everything in his power to seek a local settlement of the Incident.

Answer the question.

Foreign Minister HIROTA had no alternative by, to give his approval to the action just referred to by you, Mr. Prosecutor, because in spite of the existence of a demilitarized zone in Shanghai, the Chinese Peace Preservation Corps infiltrated into that zone, creating an extremely dangerous situation, causing thereby the need to protect the lives and property of the Japanese residents, as well as secure the safety

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of the very small Japanese Naval landing party there. The answer, then, is that he did give his approval? I think that he gave his consent when the question arose at a meeting of the cabinet. Referring to document 11, reading four lines there, did he say this: "On the 13th of August 1937 the causes of the Incident were the assassination of Lieutenant OYAMA, the rousing of considerable excitement in Shanghai by the increased number of Japanese 10 warships, and the increasing of the number of Japanese 11 Marines to 3000"? I have no recollection of ever having heard of that. 14 Now, about this assassination of Lieutenant 15 OYAMA, did you take any steps, did Mr. HIROTA take any 16 steps to ascertain the true facts about that? 17 Various reports on the case were assembled 18 19 and studied. And did you come to the conclusion that the 20 reports from the Japanese Mavy on the subject were 21 22 obvious nonsense? There was no such case. Every effort was made 23 24 to study and contrast, compare the reports sent also

by the Japanese Foreign Office authorities on the spot,

in order to find out the true facts of the case.

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Q Now will you answer my question? Did you not conclude that the Japanese Navy reports were obvious nonsense?

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A I did not consider them as nonsense.

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Q Now then, on the 12th of August, 1937 did the Cabinet meet and did HIROTA report to you

that they had decided as follows:

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"If we should announce the issuing of the mobilization order, then the situation will be troublesome, so that at yesterday's (12th of August) Cabinet meeting it was decided that the mobilization

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orders will be issued but not announced ??

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I have no recollection.

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Now, with regard to paragraph 14 of your affidavit, where you speak of negotiations in September, on the 24th of September, 1937, did the Cabinet decide to mobilize four Divisions and have

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another four Divisions in readiness? 19

I think there was something to that effect.

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Now, you have told us about discussions between

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Mr. HIKOTA and Sir Robert Craigie, and you purported

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to give us your recollection of the terms which Mr. HIROTA said would be proposed as his personal opinion.

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Were these really the terms which he proposed on or

about the 26th of September, 1937? In the first place, do you say that it was HIROTA who approached Sir Robert Craigie, or Sir Robert Craigie who approached HIROTA? The approach was made by Ambassador Craigie,

who said he would be happy to assist in the negotiations for peace between Japan and China.

Yes. Did HIROTA say this: " This is my s personal idea, but according to my plan, (1) I would 9 draw a line slightly south of Tientsin and Peiping, and would work out a demilitarized zone, and both Japanese and Chinese troops will not be stationed in this area"?

A The terms were as I stated this morning.

Will you answer the question? You have mentioned one term not dissimilar from that. Do you differ from what I have read to you?

I cannot acknowledge the fact that the expression is correct or accurate, word for word.

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Q	"(2)	The	recognition	of	Manchukuo"?
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A I do not recall whether the word "recognition" was actually used.

Q "(3) The ceasing of anti-Japanese movements"?

A Yes.

Q "(4) Defense against communism"?

A Yes.

Q "(5) The maintenance of equal rights in Chind'?

A My understanding is that the words were "equal opportunities."

Q Now those terms, there is only one substantial difference between those terms as I have read them to you and what you said this morning, and that is the recognition of Manchukuo. First of all, with regard to the first one. Was this place which was to be a demilitarized zone Chinese territory?

A Yes.

Q And what right had you to demand or had HIROTA to demand that Chinese troops should be turned out of Chinese territory?

A There was no permanent meaning to that at all.

It was simply a temporary measure to avert any possible clashes between Chinese and Japanese forces.

Q And what right had Japanese troops to be

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do so?

No.

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	there anyway?
	A Japanese Japan had the right to station
	troops in North China under the provisions of the
1	Boxer Protocol.
5	Q Yes. But not where she pleased, only in
6	certain places?
7	A Of course, they were conducted in accordance
8	with the original provisions, but there were some
9	gradual departures from that departures from time
0	to time.
1	Q By the 26th of September, 1937, they were
2	covering a large area not mentioned in the Boxer
13	Protocol, were they not?
14	A That was as a result of hostilities:
15	Q Yes. Now, with regard to these other four
16	terms, recognition of Manchukuo, ceasing of anti-
17	Japanese movements, defense against communism
18	those three had not HIROTA for years been trying
20	to persuade the Chinese Government to agree to those
21	terms?
22	Λ Yes.
23	Q And was he not now using the opportunity
24	of the Japanese Army's successes to compel them to

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Q But he was putting them forward as the terms on which the incident was to be settled, as you have told me?

A It is my understanding that Mr. HIROTA considered this to be the most opportune moment to effect a fundamental -- to bring about a fundamental peace and good will between Japan and China.

Q But was not the position, that he was using the fact that a state of warfare was in existence and the successes of the Japanese Army, to try and compel them to adopt what they had not been willing to adopt in years of negotiation?

A That is not the case at all. It was nothing in the nature of an ultimatum, and they were merely terms which Mr. HIROTA had Arbassador Craigie convey to the Government of the Chinese people, to the Chinese Government as his own personal views and to invite the Chinese to enter into negotiations on the basis of the proposal.

Q As a way of escaping from the warfare which was in progress, wasn't it?

A No.

Q Now, in paragraph 14, the second part, you refer to a document accepted by the Premier, the Foreign Minister, the War Hinister, and the Minister of the

1	Navy on the first of October, 1937.
2	May he look at IPS document 1634-N, please,
3	the original.
4	Does that bear the signatures or seals of
5	those four ministers?
6	A Yes.
7	Q Is it dated October 1, 1937?
9	A Yes.
10	Q Is it the document you are referring to?
11	Λ Yes.
12	MR. COMYNS CARR: Now, I desire to tender
13	it in evidence, if your Honor please.
14	THE PRESIDENT: Admitted on the usual terms.
15	CLERK OF THE COURT: Prosecution document
16	1634-N will receive exhibit No. 3262.
17	("hereupon, the document above
18	referred to was marked prosecution exhibit
19	No. 3262 and received in evidence.)
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MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, we

THE PRESIDENT: In view of his admissions,

MR. COMYNS CARR: Language Division, I propose

should like to have the privilege of at least seeing

you could not possibly have any objection. But you

to read and would like simultaneous translation,

should see a copy of it, Mr. Yamaoka.

the document to see if we have any objection at all to

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THE MONITOR: Yes, sir. MR. BRO OKS: Can some of the other counsel have copies of that, too, if your Honor please? (Whereupon, documents were distributed to counsel.)

beginning at the beginning.

MR. COMYNS CARR: (Reading) "An Outline Regarding the Settlement of the China Incident.

"(Note on the margin: Oct. 1 - Signatures of Premier, Army, Navy and Foreign Ministers)

"General Provisions.

"1. General Policy:

"The present incident will be brought to a speedy conclusion through the efforts of armed forces combined with timely diplomatic action and with making China abolish her anti-Japanese and pro-Communistic

policy, and establishing a truly bright and lasting friendship between Japan and China. We will make the realization of bringing about harmony and co-prosperity between Japan, Manchuria and China our main objective. In order to withstand lengthy use of military force, depending upon the situation, necessary measures will be taken to meet the need.

"2. Military Operations:

"Military operations will have China's speedy relinquishment of her hostile intention as their objective and the exercising of military force, the occupation of key points, and other various operations that become necessary for this objective, shall be taken as the occasion calls.

"3. Diplomatic Measures:

"The objective of the diplomatic measures will be to urge China's reconsideration of her hostile attitude towards Japan and induce her into a position that we desire. With China and third powers, opportune negotiations and operations will be carried out. On concluding the incident, China will be made to give up her anti-Japanese and pro-Communistic policies, and diplomatic negotiations will be conducted along lines of epoch-making diplomatic readjustment, unbiased by the past circumstances between Japan and China.

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"4. In employing military and diplomatic measures and other necessary steps involved in this operation, utmost care should be exercised not to overstep the limits fixed by international law.

"Criterion.

- "1. Use of Military Force:
- "(1) The principal areas where land forces will operate are mainly Hopeh-Chahar and Shanghai.
- "(2) In areas where it is necessary, sea and air operations be conducted.
- "2. Preparations for total national strength:

 "To make the conducting of operations smooth
 and to cope with the possibility of a change for the
 worse in the international situation, various national
 functionary facilities such as, enforcement of nation—
 wide mobilization, enactment of wartime laws, realization of durable national unity, will be resorted
 to as it becomes necessary.

"3. Plans to be taken in regard to North China:

"The solution of the North China problem aims at the realization of co-existence and co-prosperity among the three countries -- Japan, China and Manchuria -- its major objective being to truly make North China a bright and cheerful district under the

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Chinese Central Government.

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"4. Plans to be taken in regard to Central and South China:

"In Central and South China, we look forward to a situation suitable for the advancement and development of Sino-Japanese trade and commerce.

"5. Measures to be taken in regard to the rear-operation zones of North China:

"Measures to be taken in regard to the rearoperation zones in North China during the incident will
shake off the idea of its being occupied enemy territory, and for the most part the zone will be governed
as follows:

- "(1) No administration will be conducted in the occupied territory; security will be maintained, however, under the leadership of military forces.
- "(2) The administrative organ will be left to independent organization by the natives; however, proper guidance will be given so that it may be made a bright institution.
- "(3) The management of communication and exploitation of natural resources necessary for military purposes will be carried out under necessary control.

"However, Items (2) and (3) above will not

affect readjustment talks on diplomatic relations which take place after the amicable settlement."

And then, I hardly think I need to read the first half of the next page, unless my friends want it; but coming down to the middle--

THE PRESIDENT: We will read that after the recess.

MR. COMYNS CARR: If your Honor pleases. THE PRESIDENT: We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1445, a recess was taken until 1500, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed. THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Comyns Carr.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I was proposing to omit certain parts of this document, but my friend, Mr. YAMAOKA, tells me that if I do they will consider it necessary to read them, and it will probably be quicker if I read it in full.

THE PRESIDENT: Very well.

MR. COMYNS CARR:

(Reading)

"6. Economic, Finance and Foreign Trade: "Matters relating to commerce, economics and finance between Japan, China and third Powers will be regulated with making China give up her hostile attitude as the main objective.

"7. Relations with Third, Powers:

"Diplomatic policies towards third Powers and various operations connected with it will, along with having the third Powers entertain good will towards us on their own accord, be executed so as not to brew a conflict with them or invite their interference. In carrying out military operations and other measures involved therein, utmost care should be exercised so that they are in compliance with the main objective

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stated above.

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"8. Measures re (Japanese) Residents: "Relief will be administered to (Japanese) residents.

The concrete plans for the foregoing provisions will be decided separately.

"CONCRETE PLANS FOR THE OUTLINED POLICIES RE THE INCIDENT

"The conditions for the settlement of the situation are for the most part as follows:

"I North China

- "(a) Establishment of demilitarized zones. A designated area (probably a line linking the area adjacent to the Yungtingho with Changkiakow) will be established as a demilitarized zone, where the maintenance of public peace and order will be entrusted to restrictedly-armed Chinese police.
- "(b) The minimum of the Japanese demands in North China.
- "(1) If necessary, Japan will reveal her intentions to voluntarily reduce, as much as possible, the number of our occupation troops and limit it to the number at the time of the outbreak of the incident.
- "(2) The Tangku Truce (including the various arrangements concluded in accordance with this

agreement. However, those arrangements concluded in accordance with the Peking (local) arrangements, such as, (1) the seizure of the Gateways of the Great Wall; (2) through traffic of railway; (3) establishment of custom houses; (4) mail service; and (5) air service, will be excepted) and the DOHIHARA-Chin-T-Chen Agreement, and UMEZU-Youing-Chin Agreement will be dissolved. (The Central Forces in Hopei will, of course, be withdrawn from the province.)

"However, it is to be pledged that control over anti-Japanism and prevention of Bolshevization in the above-mentioned demilitarized areas will be strictly enforced.

"(3) It is to be agreed that Hopei-Chahar and Eastern Hopei (Councils) will be abolished and that the administration of these areas will be conducted by the Nanking Government as she pleases. However, it is desirable that the administrative leaders of this area be influential for bringing about proper suitable realization of Sino-Japanese friendly relations.

"In connection with the above, Japan will make an agreement with China, aiming at Sino-Japanese economic collaborations. This, of course, is a collaboration depending upon joint management by the

two countries on an equal footing.

"II Shanghai:

"Establishment of demilitarized zone in Shanghai.

"(1) A designated area around Shanghai will be established as a demilitarized zone, where the international police or the restrictedly-armed Chinese police will be responsible for maintaining peace and order; they will be assisted by the Settlement Municipal Police.

"(2) With the above measures, it will become unnecessary for each country to retain their land forces in the settlement. (The anchorage of war-ships is not included in this.)

"III The general readjustment of Sino-Japanese Relations.

"Simultaneously or subsequently to the truce parleys stipulated in I and II, negotiations regarding the readjustment of Sino-Japanese relations will be conducted without being influenced by the past state of affairs between the two countries. The outline for the readjustment plan is as follows:

"Upon the successful conclusion of the intended truce parley, the two countries shall issue a statement stating that they have entered upon a 'New Deal'

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for the purpose of bringing about close friendship between the two countries.

"l. Political side:

"(1) China will grant formal recognition to Manchukuo.

"(2) An anti-Comintern Pact will be concluded between Japan and China (anti-Comintern movements in the North China demilitarized zone will naturally be brought about by this Pact, but especially strict control will be enforced in this area.)

"(3) In addition to the abolition of the Hopeh-Chahar Council and Eastern-Hopei Regime as it is stipulated in the truce pact, Japan will, with regard to Inner Mongolia, also try to persuade China, through negotiations, to concede to Japan's righteous demands (provided in Item (2)) in that area. (Chine will recognize the present status of Prince Teh in the SI and CHA Banners and they will be made a mutual zone between China and Manchukuo, the preservation of which both Japan and China will respect.

"(4) China will undertake to exercise a strict nation-wide control over anti-Japanism and to effect completely the Ordinance of Friendly Relations with Powers. (Naturally, especially rigid control will be taken over anti-Japanism in the demilitarized area

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in North China.)

"Free aerial flights will be abolished.

"3. Economic Matters:

"2. Military Matters:

"(1) Reduction of custom tariffs on specific goods.

"(2) Abolition of Eastern-Hopei special trade and restoration to the Chinese the freedom to control smuggling in the sea off the demilitarized areas.

"VARIOUS MATTERS TO BE TAKEN UP FOR
NEGOTIATION SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE READJUSTMENT OF
DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

"The plan regarding the settlement of the aforesaid situation is:

"(1) to minimize the danger of future armed conflict between China and Japan by establishing demilitarized zones and so forth, along with,

"(2) removing deep-rooted causes for clashes
by general readjustment of diplomatic relations, and
thus establish a truly bright friendship between China
and Japan, based on newly-built-up diplomatic relations.
Consequently, to solve the pending issues between the
two countries amicably through normal conversations
after establishment of a bright cheerful diplomatic

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understanding between Japan and China, will be our goal. But along with the expansion of the aspects of war, the people's expectation of the fruits of war will grow larger and they will not be content with merely the normal and ordinary things but will be anxious to secure conditions of a more tangible nature, such as indemnities and so forth. Accordingly, in considering the internal situation, we must be consistent as much as possible in the spirit of being broad-minded in the settlement of the situation as stated above, and at the same time that we negotiate on the readjustment of diplomatic relations, we will take up the various conditions stated below:

"Special Conditions

"(A) Indemnities:

"(Indemnities for the direct damages done to the Japanese owned properties and rights, which China has assumed the responsibility of protecting, and for the direct damages due to illegal use or disposal by China of Japanese owned properties and rights, and similarly caused damages.)

"(B) Formation and operation of a largescale Sino-Japanese joint syndicate which engages in the following enterprises:-

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	"(1)	Marine	tran	spor	tatio	n: 1	Mergo	r	of the
China	Merchant	s Navig	gation	Com	pany	with	the	Nis	shin
Kisen	(Sino-Ja	panese	Steam	ship	Co.)	and	Dair	en	Kiser
(Dair	en Steams	hip Co.	.)						

"(2) Aviation: (a) Operation of the
Shanghai-Fukuoka, Tsingtao-Fukuoka, Fukien-Taipei
(T.N. Northern Formosa) and Kwantung-Taipei lines.
(b) Sino-Manchurian air service (with which are to be merged the lines under the management of Hwei-Tung Co.)

"Whether the air service between Asia and
Europe is to be operated as a joint enterprise by the
syndicate, and whether this is to be dealt with in a
special negotiation, - requires further study, but
for the present the following items will be considered:

- will be amalgamated into the syndicate (German holdings in the company will be bought up by Japan.)
- "(3) Railroads: (a) Construction and management of the Shantung Railroad and its branch lines.

 (b) Construction and management of the Tsingshih Railway. (c) Construction and management of the Chengten-Peiping Railway.
- "(4) Mining: Gold, iron, coal mines in North China.
 - "(5) Agriculture and other suitable

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enterprises. "(C) Settlement of pending issues (the numbers at the head of the clauses show the order in . which the issues will be settled:) "(1) Conclusion of a Sino-Japanese tariff treaty (the particulars are mentioned on separate list A.) "Reduction or removal of import and export 8 duties. "(2) Removal or modifications of the ban and restrictions on import and export (for the particulars, refer to the separate list B.) "(3) Removal of restrictions on the pro-13 duction and export of salt." 14 15 16 17 18. 19 204 21 22

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I am told that in the paragraph numbered 3 on page 5, the first paragraph numbered 3 in brackets, I omitted the words "...and Eastern-Hopei Regime..."

BY MR. COMYNS CARR (Continued):

Q Now, Mr. HORINOUCHI, was not that immediately followed up by another document which I am going to show you, prosecution document No. 820-A?

(Whereupon, a document was handed to the witness.)

Q (Continuing) New, if you will just look at that, you will find that the first part of it comes from the War Department, but the second part is stated to be approved by the Foreign Minister on October 21st, and then a little lower down it is given as decision of the three departments of War, Navy and Foreign Affairs on October 22, 1937. Was not that part so approved by HIROTA on October 21?

A I could not reply to your question without reading this document first. I cannot confirm the accuracy or authenticity, because I do not notice the signature of the Foreign Minister.

Q Is it not a document which on its face comes from the Foreign Ministry?

A As to the stationery used, this is of the type customarily used by the Foreign Office.

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Q And I suggest to you it comes from the Foreign Office files.

I have no basis upon which to confirm the authenticity of this document inasmuch as this document does not bear the signatures of the Foreign Minister, or of myself as Vice-Minister, or of directors of bureaus.

Q Have you looked at it?

(The witness examined a document)

Q Now, Mr. HORINOUCHI, do not you recognize that document perfectly well as a decision which was reached by those three ministries, including your own?

A With respect to this document, I have no exact, positive recollection. As I have said before, I am unable to reply to your question inasmuch as I have no assurance as to the authenticity or correctness of this document, and to tell you whether this was the result of a decision made in the Foreign Office.

Q But, Mr. HORINOUCHI, in your affidavit you have professed to give us, largely from memory, a full and detailed account of these negotiations.

A Of course, it is impossible to remember all the details and every particular and so I do not claim to say I remember everything. I can say that there may have been such a thing as this, but at the present time I have no positive recollection whether this document

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itself was as a result of discussions.

Q Well then, I shall have to ask you questions based upon the statements which it contains.

Did not HIROTA, together with the War and Navy ministers in October 1937 decide that Japan would reject intervention or arbitration founded, as it is stated, on placing Japan from the first in the position of a defendant?

A It was the fixed policy to reject intervention by third powers.

Q Or arbitration.

A The policy was also to reject arbitration.

Q The date which I am putting to you, October 22, is two days after the first invitation to the Brussels Conference was received. Did they not then, those three ministers, immediately decide to reject that invitation?

A I do not know whether it was two days later or not, but the government decided to reject the invitation.

Q Did they, those three ministers, decide that
"With the advance of our military movement, when its
purpose shall be practically attained, the Nanking
Government would, under pressure of our force, want in
their hearts to sue for peace..."?

A I have no recollection whether it was decided that China would be brought about to take such measures

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Don't you? Wasn't that the whole object from the beginning?

That is not so. A

Now, did those three ministers on that day decide that then, that is, when the purpose of the military movement was practically attained, the goodwill offices of England, the United States and other third parties would be advantageous, if their means were proper, to draw China into the negotiation?

A I think that it was our policy that it would be welcome if the means were proper.

Did they decide that it would be an excellent thing if Germany and Italy, who were on friendly terms with Japan, should act as arbitrators at the request of China?

A The good offices of Germany and Italy were welcome and the fact that War Minister HIROTA welcomed the good offices of the United States and Great Britain is, as I have stated from this stand this morning.

Q There is nothing like having the judge on your side before you begin, is there?

A No, that is not so.

Kapleau & Knapp

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Yamaoka.

MR. YAMAOKA: If it please the Tribunal, I object most strenuously to the characterization of this witness in such a manner.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, those things are occasionally said in cross-examination. We cannot say they are a help, but nobody is shocked by them.

We would all prefer that they be omitted.

Q Did the three ministers decide in advance, on or about the 22nd of October 1937, first, that they positively refuse and exclude hasty intervention or arbitration by third parties?

A As I have said before, it was Japan's policy to reject intervention or arbitration, whether it was early or late. Of course, good offices of third parties were always welcome but the desire and policy of the Japanese Government was to effect a fundamental settlement of the trouble between Japan and China through direct negotiations.

Q Did they decide that they might accept peace recommending services from third parties when Japan had nearly achieved the purpose of her military movements towards China?

A As far as the Foreign Office authorities or ourselves were concerned, the purpose of military

operations were to protect the lives and interests of 1 Japan in China, and when that purpose was realized Japan was prepared for -- to accept.

Q But by this time, October 22, it had got far beyond any question of protecting anything, had it not?

Japanese interests were to be found through-A out China.

Was that, then, a sufficient excuse for occupying all China?

Of course, complete occupation of that large territory would be impossible, but we believed that the purpose or objective could be carried out by occupying important points -- that is, it would be impossible to occupy that large country, geographically speaking.

Why were they not willing to accept peace recommending services from third parties until the military purpose had been nearly achieved?

As a matter of fact, informal negotiations were already in progress, and if the meeting of the three ministers mentioned here actually took place, I presume -- I would presume that when the proper time came they would like to place the matter -- place the negotiations on an official level.

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Q Did they decide not to publish their intention of accepting the good will offices of third parties or to make it known to foreign governments because that would indicate to them some weakness within Japan?

A Such a possibility could exist -- from our diplomatic knowledge I could say that such a possibility could exist because such measures are taken -- that is, such precautions are common in diplomatic practice.

Q Was that, to your knowledge, HIROTA's policy at that time?

A I think so.

Q Did they decide on that day that they would only notify the policy beforehand to Germany and Italy?

A I do not recall as much as that.

THE INTERPRETER: Correction -- I do not have any recollection of that.

Q Did they decide that they would have another meeting between the three ministers, to decide when the purpose of military movements towards China had nearly been accomplished, and when they had better notify the policy to Germany and Italy?

A I do not recall that.

Q Well, now that I have put to you those questions, are you still in doubt as to whether this is an authentic Foreign Office document?

A No, what I have just told you in reply to

A No, what I have just told you in reply to your questions come from within the scope of my recollection, and I have stated those recollections as honestly and accurately as I possibly can. I cannot say more than that.

Q Now, at the end of October or beginning of November, do you remember that HIROTA invited a number of industrialists to tea -- on the first of November, to be precise?

A In my recollection that was a few days earlier than that.

Q So you do recollect it? Were you present?

A Yes, I did.

At that time was there an anti-British movement going on in Japan?

A Yes.

MR. COMYNS CARR: Document 16 please,
Language Division. I shall read the whole part of it
within the inverted commas.

Q Did he say this to them? "This anti-British movement is very bad. If England is disregarded there will be no country that will act as an intermediary

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between Japan and China. Therefore, if such things are done now, the government will be troubled. In the end we may have to fight England. We may also have to collide with her sometime, but such things are absolutely out of the question right now. Diplomatically, if such things are done now, the government will be greatly inconvenienced."

A Well, I do not recall all that Foreign Minister HIROTA said on that occasion, but what he said was that inasmuch as Great Britain was the most proper country to serve as a bridge in bringing together reconciliation between Japan and China, such anti-British movement would be most troublesome and embarrassing to Japan.

Did he say, "In the end we may have to fight England"?

That I do not recall.

Would you be surprised if he himself told Baron HARADA that he had said that?

A Yes, I would be surprised.

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Q Now, you say, and it agrees with the account
I am putting to you, that he told these industrialists
that England was the only country at the moment to
act as an intermediary between Japan and China. Had
he not within the previous fortnight agreed with the
ministers of war and the navy that it would be much
better to have Germany and Italy?

A I have no recollection as to that, but he had no objection to using these two countries for the purpose. However, Foreign Minister HIROTA constantly stated that it was not proper nor appropriate nor effective to rely only on Germany and Italy for their good offices. As evidence of that fact I should like to state that with respect to what Foreign Minister HIROTA replied to Ambassador Craigie when Craigie himself said that even after the good offices of Germany and Italy were requested, in smuch as these two countries do not have the -- are not held in confidence and trust by China, it would be more advantageous and effective to rely upon the good offices also of the United States and Britain, and to this the Foreign Minister replied that he was heartily -- that he heartily approved of this suggestion.

O Did he not on the very day when I suggest he had this conversation with Baron HARADA, namely, the 2nd of November, entrust the sole conduct of the negotiations to

Germany?

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, I object to this line of questioning.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Yamaoka, that must be translated into English.

THE INTERPRETER: Mr. President, it is quite difficult, but literally he said, "As to requesting the German ambassador," and then stopped.

THE PRESIDENT: I'r. Yamaoka.

MR. YAMAOKA: If the Tribunal please, I object to this line of questioning for the reason that the witness has not stated that he knows about this conversation between Baron HARADA and Mr. HIROTA.

THE PRESIDENT: He can be asked about it.

MR. COMYNS CARR: It is enough for my purpose to name the date. I will reframe the question to meet my friend's point.

O Did not HIROTA on the 2nd of November, 1937, entrust the sole conduct of the negotiations with China to Germany through Ambassador Dirksen?

A He has in no case at all ever entrusted sole responsibility for negotiations to any ambassador.

Q Did he not on that day ask Ambassador Dirksen to undertake the negotiations through the German ambassador in China?

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I don't recall the exact date, whether it was the 2nd of November or not, but I do recall the fact of making the request of the German ambassador.

Was it not early in November?

That is my recollection; but as to the tea party, I think that was held a week before, around the 26th of October.

Did he not receive a visit shortly before the 5th of November from Ambassador Craigie?

I have no positive recollection whether it was the 5th or not.

In the beginning of November?

It is difficult for me to identify the -- to confirm the date you are pointing to, because Ambassador Craigie frequently visited Foreign Minister HIROTA.

Tell me whether you were present and can recolled ect this conversation between them: Did Ambassador 18 Craigie say that in view of the anti-British agitations 19 that were going on he thought perhaps that England would not be the best country to conduct the negotiations?

My recollection of the talk was that it might be difficult if Great' Britain alone handled the matter.

And did not HIROTA say, "England is the most suitable country. Nothing can be settled if Germany

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and Italy come into the picture"?

A I think that such a conversation was quite possible, because Foreign Minister HIROTA always thought that Great Britain surely was perhaps the most reliable country to serve or act as a mediator.

Q And didn't he say that immediately after he had in fact asked Dirksen to initiate the negotiations?

A There was no objection to Germany and Great Britain acting together -- participating together in 10 the work of mediation, but I think I recall Mr. HIROTA 11 as having said to Ambassador Craigie -- There were no 12 objections as to Great Britain and Germany working to-13 gether on the same matter. However, because of the 14 army's opposition to British mediation in the case, I 15 recall Foreign Minister HIROTA telling Ambassador Craigie 16 that he would like to have him, namely, Ambassador 17 Craigie, talk over the matter with the German ambassa-18 dor and to take a cooperative role in the work of media-19 tion.

MR. COMYNS CARR: I refer the Tribunal to the
account of this metter in exhibits 486, record page
5983; 270, which was read into the record at page 3610
and 2235, which is a revised translation of the same
document as 270, which was introduced but not read
again at page 16069.

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THE PRESIDENT: "e have before us the prosecution's document not tendered, being document 820-A. MR. COMYNS CARR: Your Honor, I didn't know it had been handed up. As the witness declined to identify it, I did not offer it in evidence, but I was basing

THE PRESIDENT: I quite understand why it is; Mr. Carr, but the fact is that we have a document we should not have.

a number of questions upon it.

We will adjourn until half-past nine tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 1600, an adjournment was taken until Thursday, 2 October 1947, at 0930.)

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